

1 UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS  
2 FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT  
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5  
6 August Term, 2003  
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8 (Argued March 10, 2004 Decided November 17, 2004)  
9

10 Docket No. 03-7679  
11  
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13  
14 GREEN PARTY OF NEW YORK STATE, a political party duly organized  
15 under the laws of New York State, MARK DUNLEA, Chairperson of the  
16 Green Party of New York State, RACHEL TREICHLER, duly enrolled  
17 member of the Green Party of New York State, JAMES LANE, duly  
18 enrolled member of the Green Party of New York State, SHANNON M.  
19 HOULIHAN, JOHN N. WARREN and LISA CHACON,  
20

21 Plaintiffs-Appellees,  
22

23 LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF NEW YORK STATE INC., CAROL M. O'HEA, ANNE M.  
24 NOLAN, KENNETH C. DIEM, NEW YORK STATE RIGHT TO LIFE PARTY,  
25 LIBERAL PARTY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, and MARIJUANA REFORM  
26 PARTY OF NEW YORK,  
27

28 Intervenors-Plaintiffs-Appellees,  
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30 v.  
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32 NEW YORK STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS, CAROL BERMAN, NEIL W.  
33 KELLEHER, HELEN MOSES DONOHUE and EVELYN J. AQUILA, in their  
34 official capacities as Commissioners of the New York State Board  
35 of Elections,  
36

37 Defendants-Appellants,  
38

39 NANCY MOTTOLA SCHACHER, WEYMAN A. CAREY, MICHAEL J. CILMI, MARK  
40 B. HERMAN, NERO B. GRAHAM, VINCENT J. VELELLA, DOUGLAS A.  
41 KELLNER, FREDERIC M. UMANE, TERRENCE C. O'CONNOR, STEPHEN H.  
42 WEINER, in their official capacities as Commissioners of the New  
43 York City Board of Elections, and as representatives of all  
44 commissioners of the county boards of elections in New York  
45 State,  
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47 Defendants.  
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3 Before:

4 WALKER, Chief Judge,  
5 CARDAMONE, and KEITH\*, Circuit Judges.  
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9 Plaintiff Green Party of New York State, a political party,  
10 and its members brought this action challenging the validity of  
11 New York's voter enrollment scheme. On May 30, 2003 the United  
12 States District Court for the Eastern District of New York  
13 (Gleeson, J.) granted plaintiffs a preliminary injunction.  
14 Subsequently, other political parties moved and were granted  
15 leave to intervene. In an order dated September 18, 2003 the  
16 district court revised the injunction to include the intervenors.  
17 Defendants New York State Board of Elections and its  
18 Commissioners appeal the district court's grant of a preliminary  
19 injunction in favor of plaintiffs.  
20

21 Affirmed.  
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24

25 PATRICIA L. MURRAY, Deputy Counsel, New York State Board of  
26 Elections, Albany, New York, for Defendants-Appellants New  
27 York State Board of Elections, et al.  
28

29 JEREMY CREELAN, New York, New York (Deborah Goldberg, Brennan  
30 Center for Justice at New York University School of Law, New  
31 York, New York, of counsel), for Plaintiffs-Appellees Green  
32 Party, et al.  
33

34 RICHARD P. CARO, Riverside, Illinois (Thomas G. Teresky,  
35 Huntington, New York, of counsel), for Intervenors-  
36 Plaintiffs-Appellees Carol M. O'Hea, Anne M. Nolan, Kenneth  
37 C. Diem, and New York State Right to Life Party.  
38

39 HERBERT RUBIN, New York, New York (Herzfeld & Rubin, P.C., New  
40 York, New York, of counsel), for Intervenor-Plaintiff-  
41 Appellee Liberal Party of the State of New York.  
42

43 CHRISTOPHER B. GARVEY, Roslyn, New York (Nolte, Nolte & Hunter,  
44 Roslyn, New York, of counsel), for Intervenor-Plaintiff-  
45 Appellee Libertarian Party of New York.  
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50  
51 \* Hon. Damon J. Keith, Circuit Judge, United States Court of  
52 Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, sitting by designation.

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3  
4 Thomas J. Hillgardner, Law Office of Thomas J. Hillgardner,  
5 Jamaica, New York, filed a brief for Intervenors-Plaintiffs-  
6 Appellees Marijuana Reform Party of the State of New York,  
7 George Moss, Carl Foster, Dean Venezia and Thomas K.  
8 Leighton.

9 Christopher E. Strunk, Brooklyn, New York, filed a brief as  
10 Pro Se Amicus Intervenor.  
11  
12

1 CARDAMONE, Circuit Judge:

2 Plaintiff Green Party of New York State, a political party,  
3 and its members brought this action challenging the validity of  
4 New York's voter enrollment scheme. On May 30, 2003 the United  
5 States District Court for the Eastern District of New York  
6 (Gleeson, J.) granted plaintiffs a preliminary injunction. Green  
7 Party v. N.Y. State Bd. of Elections, 267 F. Supp. 2d 342  
8 (E.D.N.Y. 2003) (Green Party I). Subsequently, other political  
9 parties moved and were granted leave to intervene. In an order  
10 dated September 18, 2003 the district court revised the  
11 injunction to include the intervenors. Green Party v. N.Y. State  
12 Bd. of Elections, No. 02-CV-6465, 2003 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 16524  
13 (E.D.N.Y. Sept. 18, 2003) (Green Party II). Defendants New York  
14 State Board of Elections and its Commissioners appeal the  
15 district court's grant of the preliminary injunction in favor of  
16 plaintiffs and intervenors-plaintiffs.

17 In the district court, plaintiffs challenged the  
18 constitutionality of New York State's voter enrollment scheme, in  
19 particular Election Law § 5-302(1) (1998). That statute states  
20 that when a political party fails to receive at least 50,000  
21 votes for that party's gubernatorial candidate in the previous  
22 election, see id. § 1-104(3), defendants Commissioners of the  
23 State Board of Elections are required to remove that political  
24 party's name from the voter registration form and convert voters  
25 in such party to non-enrolled voters. The statute thereby

1 removes a voter's affiliation with such party from the state's  
2 registered voter lists.

3 That removal is challenged in this litigation as violating  
4 voters' constitutional right of association. The right of  
5 association guarantees individuals the right to join with like-  
6 minded individuals to accomplish a shared political objective  
7 that is protected by the First Amendment. See Citizens Against  
8 Rent Control v. Berkeley, 454 U.S. 290, 294-95 (1981). The  
9 Constitution accords the same protection independently to  
10 associations as it does to individuals. Id. at 295-96.

#### 11 BACKGROUND

##### 12 A. Parties

13 Plaintiffs political organizations and their members include  
14 New York State's Green Party, Libertarian Party, Right to Life  
15 Party, Liberal Party, and Marijuana Reform Party. The Green  
16 Party and its members (original plaintiffs) brought this action  
17 -- in which the other parties and their members (intervenor  
18 plaintiffs) later intervened -- contending that Election Law  
19 § 5-302(1) violated their First Amendment rights of speech and  
20 association and unreasonably discriminated against them in  
21 violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth  
22 Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

##### 23 B. New York State's Voter Enrollment Scheme

24 New York law states that a political organization which  
25 supports candidates for public office shall be designated as  
26 either a "party" or an "independent body." A political

1 organization is designated as a "party," with all of the benefits  
2 that accrue to such categorization, if at the last gubernatorial  
3 election such organization's candidate for governor received at  
4 least 50,000 votes. See N.Y. Elec. Law § 1-104(3). A political  
5 organization is designated as an "independent body" if its  
6 candidate for governor received fewer than 50,000 votes in the  
7 last gubernatorial election. See id. § 1-104(12). Both a party  
8 and an independent body under the election law refer to what are  
9 more colloquially known as political parties. For the sake of  
10 clarity, we will use the upper-case term "Party" when referring  
11 to a political party that qualifies for the designation of  
12 "party" under New York law, and "political party" or "independent  
13 body" when referring to an organization that fails to qualify for  
14 the party designation.

15 A number of unique benefits accrue to a Party. First, only  
16 a Party can automatically place a candidate on the ballot for  
17 statewide election without first undertaking the burden of a  
18 special petition drive in order to do so. See id. §§ 6-104,  
19 6-138(1). Further, a Party may choose their statewide candidate  
20 in a closed primary election, while an independent organization  
21 may not. Id. § 1-104(9). A closed primary is an election in  
22 which only those voters enrolled as members of that particular  
23 Party are allowed to vote. For such an election to take place,  
24 the state, the Party, and the local boards of elections who  
25 administer primaries must be able to identify whether a voter is  
26 actually a member of a given Party and thus eligible to

1 participate in the primary. New York's enrollment scheme allows  
2 registered voters to enroll in Parties, see id. § 5-210(5)(k)  
3 (vi), and requires the publication of voter enrollment  
4 information to facilitate such identification. See id.  
5 § 5-302(4)-(5).

6 When plaintiffs brought their suit (and still today with  
7 respect to any non-party to this suit), the voter registration  
8 form -- which a voter must fill out in order to register to vote  
9 in New York -- allowed those filling out the form to enroll as a  
10 member of a Party and included a box to check for each political  
11 organization that qualified as a Party. See id. § 5-210(5)(k)  
12 (vi). The form had an extra box for voters who did not wish to  
13 enroll in any Party. Id. The registration form noted that in  
14 order to vote in a primary election, a voter had to be enrolled  
15 in a Party. Id. § 5-210(5)(f). There was no box labeled  
16 "other," or any other way for a voter to enroll in or express an  
17 affiliation with another political organization.

18 New York law further requires the local boards of elections  
19 to process the voter registration forms and to maintain and make  
20 available to the public registration lists indicating the names  
21 and addresses of all registered voters for each election district  
22 over which the boards have jurisdiction. Id. § 5-602. Local  
23 boards must also make enrollment lists available to the public,  
24 and such lists must include the voters' names, addresses and  
25 Party affiliation (or list the voter as non-affiliated). Id.  
26 §§ 5-602(1), 5-604(1). Currently, the enrollment lists do not

1 indicate voters' affiliation with other political parties, and  
2 thus do not indicate whether a voter has been affiliated with a  
3 political party in the past that either never enjoyed the Party  
4 designation or at one time was designated a Party, but  
5 subsequently lost the Party status. Parties use these enrollment  
6 lists to conduct closed primaries, but they also use the lists  
7 for many other purposes, such as identifying new voters,  
8 processing voter information, organizing and mobilizing Party  
9 members, fundraising, and other activities that influence the  
10 political process.

11 As noted above, if a Party fails to receive 50,000 votes for  
12 its gubernatorial candidate in an election, it will be treated as  
13 an independent body, and not a Party, in the next election. In  
14 connection with this change in status of the political body, the  
15 local boards must erase the enrollment information of any member  
16 of a former Party and change the status of that individual to  
17 non-affiliated on the registration poll record. See id.

18 § 5-302(1). Plaintiff political party members claim that, as a  
19 practical matter, § 5-302(1) thus deprives them of the ability to  
20 declare publicly their political affiliation, and to have that  
21 affiliation maintained and publicized in the enrollment lists.  
22 They additionally maintain that the challenged law deprives them  
23 of the ability to use the enrollment list information to conduct  
24 party building activities.



1 C. The Instant Case

2 On December 10, 2002 after it failed to obtain 50,000 votes  
3 for its gubernatorial candidate in the 2002 election, the Green  
4 Party and several of its current and prospective members filed a  
5 complaint against the New York State Board of Elections, the New  
6 York City Board of Elections and the Commissioners of each body.  
7 The City Board of Elections did not oppose the claims.  
8 Plaintiffs sought a temporary restraining order and a preliminary  
9 injunction that would prohibit the state defendants from  
10 enforcing Election Law § 5-302(1). They requested that  
11 defendants be prohibited from taking any steps that would prevent  
12 voters from enrolling in any political party that had previously  
13 gained recognition as a Party, and that the court require  
14 defendants to continue to include a voter's enrollment status in  
15 the enrollment lists even if they had enrolled in a Party that  
16 was about to lose its status. The district court granted  
17 plaintiffs' application for a temporary restraining order on  
18 December 12, 2002, finding under Burdick v. Takushi, 504 U.S. 428  
19 (1992), and Schulz v. Williams, 44 F.3d 48 (2d Cir. 1994), that  
20 plaintiffs had alleged violations of their First and Fourteenth  
21 Amendment rights and that the interests the state used to justify  
22 the challenged provisions were neither compelling nor reasonable.

23 On January 16, 2003 the district court conducted a hearing  
24 on plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction, and  
25 subsequently granted that motion on May 30, 2003. Green Party I,  
26 267 F. Supp. 2d 342. The court found New York's voter enrollment

1 scheme, and Election Law § 5-302(1) in particular, imposed a  
2 severe burden on the First Amendment rights of the Green Party  
3 and its supporters, id. at 352-54, and that the law unreasonably  
4 discriminated against minor political parties and their  
5 supporters. Id. at 354-55. As such, the "scheme [could] only  
6 withstand constitutional challenge upon a showing of a compelling  
7 state interest." Id. at 355.

8 The district court further found defendants had failed to  
9 show that the challenged aspects of the election law scheme  
10 advanced any legitimate state interest, let alone a compelling  
11 and narrowly tailored one. Id. at 359-60. The preliminary  
12 injunction ordered defendants to: (a) maintain on the state's  
13 voter registration form a box for voters to enroll in the Green  
14 Party, and (b) ensure that the local boards of elections  
15 maintained the enrollment status of voters who had enrolled in  
16 the Green Party in the past, and continued to enroll such voters  
17 in the future, at least through the gubernatorial election of  
18 2006. Id. at 362-63.

19 After the district court issued this injunction, the  
20 remaining plaintiffs, the Liberal Party and the Right to Life  
21 Party -- both of which had lost their status as Parties as a  
22 result of the 2002 elections -- and the Libertarian and Marijuana  
23 Reform Parties -- neither of which had ever won recognition as a  
24 Party, but had placed candidates on the statewide ballot in the  
25 2002 election, moved to intervene. The trial court granted  
26 intervenors' motions and on July 28, 2003 held a hearing on the

1 intervenors' application to have the preliminary injunction  
2 extended to them. In an order dated September 18, 2003 the  
3 district court extended the preliminary injunction to the  
4 intervenors and thus enjoined enforcement of § 5-302(1) against  
5 them as well. Green Party II, 2003 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 16524, at  
6 \*14. The order also required defendants to open New York's voter  
7 enrollment scheme to plaintiffs by revising the voter  
8 registration form to include an option labeled "Other (write in)"  
9 that would be followed by a blank line permitting voters to  
10 declare their political affiliation with any political  
11 organization by writing the name of such political organization  
12 on that line. In conjunction with that revision, the court  
13 further required the voter registration form to include  
14 instructions notifying voters that they could use the "Other"  
15 line to enroll in a political organization that was not one of  
16 the Parties identified on the form. Id. at \*15.

17 In addition, the court directed local boards to maintain and  
18 update the enrollment information of voters currently enrolled in  
19 -- or who in the future might use the form to enroll in -- any of  
20 the plaintiff parties. Since some voters would have been  
21 disenrolled from the Liberal and Right to Life Parties, the state  
22 board was ordered to use its best efforts to notify those voters  
23 that they could re-enroll in those parties by completing a new  
24 form. Finally, the district court ordered the defendants to  
25 ensure that these directives remained in force so long as the  
26 plaintiff parties continued to enjoy sufficient support to place

1 statewide candidates on the ballot in the most recent  
2 gubernatorial election. Id. at \*15-16.

3 In another order issued on the same day, the district court  
4 prohibited defendant New York State Board of Elections from  
5 including Green Party voters as unenrolled in the voter  
6 enrollment information published on its website. This other  
7 order also required the state board to provide the Green Party  
8 with "the same voter enrollment data, in the same form," as it  
9 provided to Parties. Green Party v. N.Y. State Bd. of Elections,  
10 No. 02-CV-6465, 2003 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 16523, at \*6-7 (E.D.N.Y.  
11 Sept. 18, 2003) (Green Party III).

12 The state defendants appealed. For the reasons set out in  
13 the discussion that follows, and because we agree substantially  
14 with the district court's well-reasoned May 30, 2003 opinion, we  
15 affirm.

## 16 DISCUSSION

### 17 I Preliminary Injunction

#### 18 A. Issuance Standards

19 To obtain a preliminary injunction the moving party must  
20 show, first, irreparable injury, and, second, either (a)  
21 likelihood of success on the merits, or (b) sufficiently serious  
22 questions going to the merits and a balance of hardships  
23 decidedly tipped in the movant's favor. Jackson Dairy, Inc. v.  
24 H.P. Hood & Sons, Inc., 596 F.2d 70, 72 (2d Cir. 1979) (per  
25 curiam).

1           In general, we review a district court's grant of a  
2 preliminary injunction for abuse of discretion, overturning its  
3 decision only if it rested on an error of law or on a clearly  
4 erroneous factual finding. See Fun-Damental Too, Ltd. v. Gemmy  
5 Indus. Corp., 111 F.3d 993, 999 (2d Cir. 1997). Further, where,  
6 as here, plaintiffs seek vindication of rights protected by the  
7 First Amendment, we are obliged to make an independent  
8 examination of the record as a whole, to ensure that the district  
9 court's judgment has not improperly intruded into the field of  
10 free expression. See Bose Corp. v. Consumers Union of United  
11 States, Inc., 466 U.S. 485, 499 (1984). When the injunction  
12 alters the status quo, as does this one, plaintiffs must show a  
13 "'substantial' likelihood" of success. See Rodriguez ex rel.  
14 Rodriguez v. DeBuono, 175 F.3d 227, 233 (2d Cir. 1999) (per  
15 curiam). Finally, where a First Amendment right has been  
16 violated, the irreparable harm requirement for the issuance of a  
17 preliminary injunction has been satisfied. See Elrod v. Burns,  
18 427 U.S. 347, 373 (1976).

19                   B. Claimed Constitutional Violations

20                           1. First Amendment Claims

21           Plaintiffs argue that New York's voter enrollment scheme  
22 violates the First Amendment -- as applied to the states through  
23 the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment -- because it  
24 impinges on their right to organize a political party and  
25 associate together to advance that party's shared political  
26 beliefs. The words "freedom of association" are not to be found

1 in the First Amendment but, over nearly 50 years, the Supreme  
2 Court has developed a jurisprudence that guides us today. In  
3 1958, the Court held that a right to associate is entitled to  
4 First and Fourteenth Amendment protection. See NAACP v. Alabama,  
5 357 U.S. 449, 460 (1958). Thus, the NAACP could not be compelled  
6 to disclose to the state of Alabama its list of members in that  
7 state because the order requiring it to do so constituted "a  
8 substantial restraint upon the exercise by petitioner's members  
9 of their right to freedom of association." Id. at 462. Two  
10 years later in Bates v. Little Rock, the Court added that for the  
11 state to justify a significant encroachment on an associational  
12 right, the state must point to a compelling reason for that  
13 encroachment. 361 U.S. 516, 524 (1960). And, in 1963, the Court  
14 held that the state must also persuasively show a "substantial  
15 relation between the information sought and a subject of  
16 overriding and compelling state interest." Gibson v. Fla.  
17 Legislative Investigation Comm., 372 U.S. 539, 546 (1963).

18 The Supreme Court further instructs us that to determine  
19 whether a claimed violation of the right to associate is valid, a  
20 court must consider the "character and magnitude" of the alleged  
21 injury the plaintiff has sustained, and then must identify and  
22 evaluate the interests the state uses to justify the burdens  
23 imposed by the challenged rule, taking into consideration the  
24 extent to which the state's interests make it necessary to burden  
25 plaintiff's rights. Burdick, 504 U.S. at 434 (quoting Anderson  
26 v. Celebrezze, 460 U.S. 780, 789 (1983)).

1 All election laws "invariably impose some burden upon  
2 individual voters." Id. at 433. Whether that burden concerns  
3 "the registration and qualifications of voters, the selection and  
4 eligibility of candidates, or the voting process itself," it  
5 inevitably has an effect on an individual's right to vote and  
6 associate with others for political purposes. Id. Accordingly,  
7 the Court has refused to subject all election regulations to  
8 strict scrutiny. Id. Instead, it has held that "the  
9 rigorousness of our inquiry into the propriety of a state  
10 election law depends upon the extent to which a challenged  
11 regulation burdens First and Fourteenth Amendment rights." Id.  
12 at 434.

13 If those rights are subject to severe restriction, the  
14 regulation has to be narrowly drawn to advance a compelling state  
15 interest. Id. If it imposes only "'reasonable,  
16 nondiscriminatory restrictions,'" then important regulatory  
17 interests are sufficient to justify the restrictions. Id.  
18 (quoting Anderson, 460 U.S. at 788). Courts are required to  
19 consider the restrictions within the totality of the state's  
20 overall plan of regulation. Lerman v. Bd. of Elections, 232 F.3d  
21 135, 145 (2d Cir. 2000); see also Storer v. Brown, 415 U.S. 724,  
22 737 (1974) (discussing the "totality" approach and application of  
23 that approach in determining the constitutionality of voter  
24 laws).

1                                    2. Fourteenth Amendment Claims

2                    Plaintiffs also contend that the statutory classification  
3 scheme violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth  
4 Amendment because the state's enrollment list policy gives  
5 established Parties an advantage over minor or developing  
6 parties. The Supreme Court has said that if state law grants  
7 "established parties a decided advantage over any new parties  
8 struggling for existence and thus place[s] substantially unequal  
9 burdens on both the right to vote and the right to associate" the  
10 Constitution has been violated, absent a showing of a compelling  
11 state interest. Williams v. Rhodes, 393 U.S. 23, 31 (1968).  
12 Hence, a court has a duty to "examine the character of the  
13 classification in question, the importance of the individual  
14 interests at stake, and the state interests asserted in support  
15 of the classification." Ill. State Bd. of Elections v. Socialist  
16 Workers Party, 440 U.S. 173, 183 (1979). Where the state's  
17 classification "limit[s] the access of new parties" and inhibits  
18 this development, the state must prove that its classification is  
19 necessary to serve a compelling government interest. See Norman  
20 v. Reed, 502 U.S. 279, 288-89 (1992); Schulz, 44 F.3d at 60.  
21 Even if a state is pursuing a compelling interest, it must show  
22 that the means it adopted to achieve that goal are the least  
23 restrictive means available. Ill. State Bd. of Elections, 440  
24 U.S. at 185.

25                    The laws at issue in this case, according to plaintiffs,  
26 place discriminatory burdens on minor political parties. The



1 alleged unequal burdens are those that affect claimants' ability  
2 to exercise their First Amendment rights. See Anderson, 460 U.S.  
3 at 793-94 ("A burden that falls unequally on new or small  
4 political parties . . . impinges, by its very nature, on  
5 associational choices protected by the First Amendment."). As  
6 the alleged violations of the plaintiffs' First Amendment rights  
7 form the basis of both the First Amendment and Fourteenth  
8 Amendment claims, we are faced with a situation where the  
9 plaintiffs' First Amendment claims substantially overlap with  
10 their equal protection claims. Accordingly, the analyses of  
11 plaintiffs' claims under the two amendments also substantially  
12 overlap.

13 With respect to both claims, we must first determine the  
14 character and severity of the alleged burdens. If we conclude  
15 that the burdens on plaintiffs' associational rights are severe,  
16 we must next analyze the state's purported interests to determine  
17 whether those interests are compelling and, if so, whether the  
18 alleged burdens are necessary for the state to achieve its  
19 compelling interests. If we determine, as we do here, that the  
20 state's interests are not sufficient to justify such burdens, we  
21 must rule that the plaintiffs have a substantial likelihood of  
22 success on the merits of their claims.

## 23 II Burdens on Associational Rights

### 24 A. Character and Severity of Burdens

25 We think the burdens imposed on plaintiffs' associational  
26 rights are severe. In Schulz we struck down a New York state law

1 that required local boards of election automatically to supply  
2 two copies of enrollment lists, free of charge, to the county  
3 chairmen of Parties, but allowed the boards to charge independent  
4 bodies for access to such lists stating, "'[i]t is clear that the  
5 effect of these provisions . . . is to deny independent or  
6 minority parties . . . an equal opportunity to win the votes of  
7 the electorate.'" 44 F.3d at 60 (quoting Socialist Workers Party  
8 v. Rockefeller, 314 F. Supp. 984, 995 (S.D.N.Y. 1970)).

9 Similarly, while the enrollment lists at issue here may have  
10 originally been intended solely for use in facilitating closed  
11 primary elections, we are required to look at the totality of the  
12 voter enrollment scheme in its present form. Currently, Parties  
13 use these lists for a number of different activities essential to  
14 their exercise of First Amendment rights.

15 Based on the proof produced at the hearing on the  
16 preliminary injunction, the district court determined that "the  
17 Green Party's ability to identify, appeal to, inform, organize,  
18 mobilize and raise money from its supporters will be severely  
19 damaged" as a result of the current enrollment scheme. Green  
20 Party I, 267 F. Supp. 2d at 353. It ruled in this fashion based  
21 on Supreme Court and Second Circuit precedent. See, e.g.,  
22 Anderson, 460 U.S. at 794 ("By limiting the opportunities of  
23 independent-minded voters to associate in the electoral arena to  
24 enhance their political effectiveness as a group, such  
25 restrictions threaten to reduce the diversity and competition in  
26 the marketplace of ideas."); Lerman, 232 F.3d at 147-48 (noting

1 that a "statute need not [ban association altogether] in order to  
2 substantially burden the right to political association" if it  
3 prevents a candidate from accessing voters or conveying a  
4 political message).

5 In a case similar to the one now before us, the Tenth  
6 Circuit ruled that in today's political landscape, "access to  
7 minimal information about political party affiliation is the key  
8 to successful political organization and campaigning." Baer v.  
9 Meyer, 728 F.2d 471, 475 (10th Cir. 1984). If an independent  
10 body does not have access to other information concerning who is  
11 affiliated with its party, it will be unable to determine from  
12 the word "unaffiliated" whether a particular unaffiliated voter  
13 is or is not a supporter of its organization. It burdens all the  
14 plaintiff parties if they cannot determine who would like to  
15 associate with them. That they are smaller, less developed --  
16 and hence less financially established parties -- makes their  
17 situation even more difficult. As Anderson instructs, such  
18 limitation of opportunity for independent voters reduces  
19 diversity and competition in the marketplace of ideas. 460 U.S.  
20 at 794. Therefore, the district court did not abuse its  
21 discretion in ruling that New York's voter enrollment scheme  
22 could only withstand constitutional challenge if New York were  
23 able to show a compelling state interest.

1 B. New York's Interests

2 We pass then to a review of the state's expressed interests  
3 to decide whether they are compelling enough to justify the  
4 burden on plaintiffs' rights.

5 New York offered two interests in support of its enrollment  
6 scheme. First, the state contends it must reasonably restrict  
7 access to the primary election process, and that the 50,000 vote  
8 requirement for access to the enrollment scheme developed from  
9 its need to regulate that process. Plaintiffs, however, are not  
10 challenging the primary election process or the 50,000 vote  
11 threshold for obtaining or maintaining Party status. Plaintiffs  
12 simply request that the local boards of elections maintain lists  
13 of voters enrolled in their parties.

14 As we said in Lerman, "the fact that the defendants[']  
15 asserted interests are 'important in the abstract' does not  
16 necessarily mean that its chosen means of regulation 'will in  
17 fact advance those interests.'" 232 F.3d at 149 (quoting Turner  
18 Broadcasting Sys., Inc. v. FCC, 512 U.S. 622, 664 (1994)).

19 Similarly, here, the state failed to show any meaningful  
20 relationship between its desire to restrict access to the primary  
21 election process and the provision of New York's Election Law  
22 that requires it to remove from its lists the party affiliation  
23 of any voters who are registered as members of independent  
24 bodies. Indeed, nothing in the district court's preliminary  
25 injunction alters the state's ability to restrict access to the  
26 primary election process. Accordingly, it does not appear that

1 the challenged statutory provision is necessary to achieve the  
2 state's asserted interest.

3 The state's second interest, preventing voter confusion, has  
4 somewhat more weight. We do not address the question of whether  
5 the goal of preventing voter confusion is a compelling one,  
6 because it obviously is. But, we do question whether the  
7 challenged provision the state has adopted achieves that goal.  
8 The state board insists that voters who enroll as a member of a  
9 political party would think that they were members of an official  
10 Party when actually they are not. Thus, such voters would not  
11 realize, the state continues, that they were foregoing the  
12 privilege of voting in a primary. The state concludes that this  
13 would effectively disenfranchise those voters who want to vote in  
14 a primary election, but are not aware that they will be unable to  
15 do so.

16 Whether this argument is or is not persuasive is irrelevant  
17 in light of our holding that this statutory provision is not  
18 necessary to prevent voter confusion in this case. We agree with  
19 the district court's observation that there was "no significant  
20 reason for confusion and [that there are] readily available means  
21 of ensuring there will be none." Green Party I, 267 F. Supp. 2d  
22 at 356-57. The registration form need only be amended to inform  
23 a registering voter that only specified political Parties may  
24 have primary elections. In fact, when the original plaintiffs  
25 brought this suit, the registration form noted that a voter had  
26 to be enrolled in a Party in order to vote in a primary. A

1 similar notation may be made on the current form. This approach  
2 would avoid the substantial burden on plaintiffs' First Amendment  
3 rights imposed by the challenged provision, while still  
4 addressing the state's concern about voter confusion in a clear  
5 and concise manner.

6 Defendants insist this approach is burdensome and will not  
7 remedy voter confusion because there are many small and  
8 undeveloped parties in existence that have yet to show they have  
9 any support and therefore do not deserve to have the state  
10 maintain their enrollment information, or have such information  
11 clutter the enrollment lists. The case they rely on to support  
12 that proposition, Iowa Socialist Party v. Nelson, 909 F.2d 1175  
13 (8th Cir. 1990), is inapposite. The facts here are not at all  
14 similar to those in Iowa Socialist Party. In that case the  
15 Eighth Circuit held that the Iowa Socialist Party could not  
16 defeat Iowa's enrollment threshold because the Iowa Socialist  
17 Party polled only three-hundredths of one percent of the total  
18 vote cast for president in the previous election, and the state  
19 would obviously incur a serious financial burden were it forced  
20 to enroll the Iowa Socialist Party. Id. at 1180.

21 The situation in the case at hand is fundamentally  
22 different. By placing statewide candidates on the ballot in the  
23 2002 election, all of the plaintiffs have demonstrated a "modicum  
24 of support" sufficient to overcome the state's broad latitude in  
25 controlling frivolous party registration of tiny fractional  
26 interests. See Baer, 728 F.2d at 476. The Tenth Circuit noted

1 in Baer that it was not at liberty to set out a rule regarding  
2 where a state must draw a bright line in order to regulate this  
3 admittedly important interest. Id. But, like Baer, we hold that  
4 the ability to meet the requirements for placing a candidate on  
5 the statewide ballot is enough of an indication of support to  
6 overcome the state's interest in preventing voter confusion. The  
7 present injunction only applies to the parties before the court  
8 in this case, all of which met those requirements. Thus, our  
9 holding extends only to them.

10 Finally, we have reviewed defendants' other claims including  
11 the challenge with respect to the testimony of the Green Party's  
12 expert witness, and the separation of powers argument, and find  
13 all these challenges to be without merit.

#### 14 CONCLUSION

15 Accordingly, for the reasons stated, we hold that the  
16 district court did not abuse its discretion when it granted  
17 plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction, as plaintiffs  
18 would have suffered irreparable harm were an injunction not to  
19 issue; and, further, plaintiffs had a substantial likelihood of  
20 success on the merits of their suit challenging the  
21 constitutionality of New York State's Election Law § 5-302(1).

22 Affirmed.